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W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXII. NO. 21.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1852.

WHOLE NO. 1115.

Selections.

RELIGION AND SLAVE CATCHING.

To the Editors of The N. Y. Tribune:—

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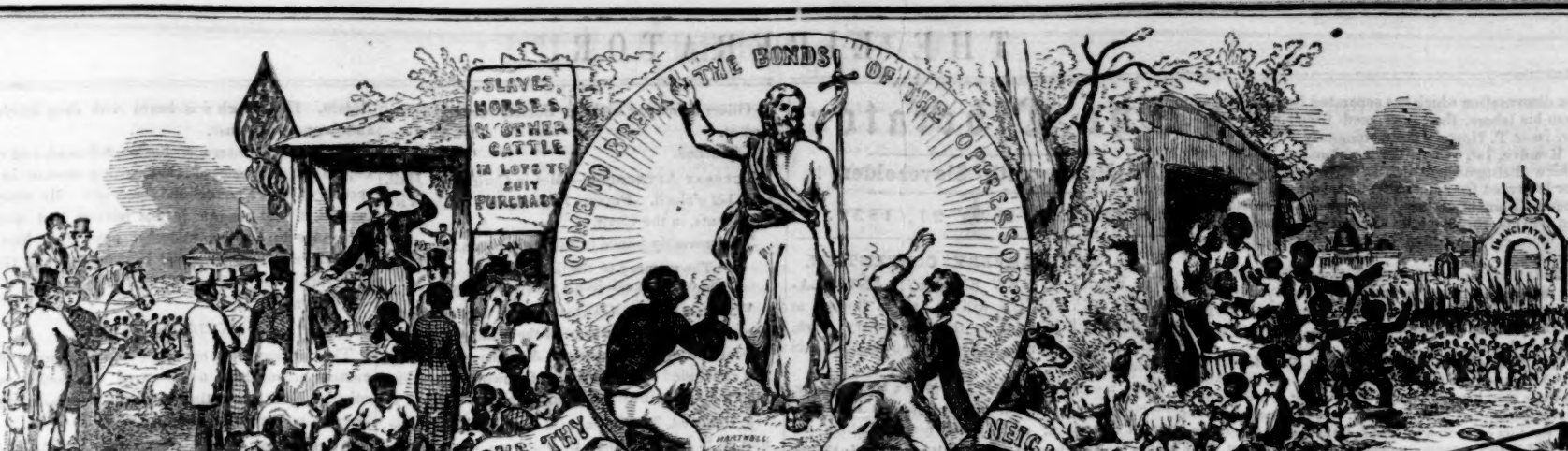
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# THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

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## NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH  
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their

slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an en-

gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exact in-  
fata to the principles of popular representation, of a rep-

resentation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under

the name of persons. . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress, and thereby

to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

NAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-

TIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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From the National A. S. Standard.

## DEATH OF ISAAC T. HOPPER.

Were the mortal remains of our venerated friend to be followed to the grave by a procession composed of the grateful men and women, who through his personal efforts, have been redeemed, or assisted to escape from bondage, it would be composed of a concourse of more than a thousand people. The close of a life illustrated by the many deeds of heroism, of humanity, of self-sacrifice, and of devotedness to the cause of the oppressed, is an event in the history of the Anti-Slavery Cause; and we were sure that the ways of the world, our columns to-day would be shrouded in those dark and heavy lines which mark the occasion of public grief for the death of a great and good man. It is a more fitting tribute to the memory of Isaac T. Hopper, and more in accordance with the simplicity of his character, than the outward sign of mourning should be wanting, while the words of those who know him, and loved him well, should testify of the sorrow felt at his loss.

In speaking of him, we speak as to personal friends; for very many, we know, of the readers of this paper have that relation to him, and there are few among them who, though they may never have seen him, have not entertained for him a strong feeling of personal regard, and who have not felt a warm interest in the generous devotion of his life to deeds of beneficent and unostentatious charity, and a hearty admiration for the noble character which, through that whole life, he has sustained. For years he was connected with the American Anti-Slavery Society, as its Treasurer, and his venerable presence was never absent from its platform, while its Anniversaries were held in this city. The publication of this paper was under his charge during the editorship of Mrs. Child, and she then, and for several subsequent years, was a member of his family. It is therefore, particularly fitting that upon her should devolve the duty of commemorating his death, in this place; and it is gratifying to us, as it will be to all his friends, that we can lay before them this tribute to his memory from one who knew him so long and well.

Mrs. Child thus writes of him:—  
On Friday last, in the 81st year of his age, Isaac T. Hopper closed his earthly pilgrimage, after having been long and faithfully engaged in the cause of the oppressed. He was a tall, slender man, with a very fine countenance. He was an old colored man sitting on the fence, watching him with a very dejected countenance. He went up to him, and inquired why he seemed so sad. 'Ah,' said the old man, 'I was thinking of the time when I was a boy, and before the white men came and carried me off into slavery. See how my hands were torn by clinging to bushes, brambles, and rocks, as they dragged me along?' He held out his hand, which still showed the scars left by deep wounds in that desperate struggle. Isaac sat down beside him, and listened to the details of a story, which filled his young heart with generous indignation. As he walked thoughtfully away, he made an inward vow that, from that time, through his whole life, he would be the friend of Africans; and faithfully he kept this juvenile resolution. He was one of the very earliest friends of the slaves, and, to his latest hour, he warmly sympathized with their wrongs. He was a prominent member of the first American Society in Pennsylvania, and labored earnestly with Benjamin Rush, Dr. Rogers, and other distinguished philanthropists of the time. No man at that period, not even eminent judges and advocates, was better acquainted with all the intricacies of law questions connected with Slavery. His accurate legal knowledge, his natural acuteness, his power of fact in avoiding dangerous corners, and slipping through unseemly loop-holes, often gave him the victory in cases that seemed hopeless to other minds. On many of these occasions, physical courage was needed as much as moral firmness; but Friend Hopper possessed both these qualities in a remarkable degree. When a loaded pistol was pointed at his breast, he looked the slave-hunter steadily in the eye, and said calmly, 'Foolish man, put up that murderous weapon! Dost thou expect to terrify me from my duty? Once he was thrown out of a second story window, by two or three enraged men, who were binding a slave with cords; but he re-appeared in the room, through another second story window, a few minutes after, and rescued their victim by simple boldness and presence of mind.

After his removal from Philadelphia, fewer cases of this kind were brought under his observation. Systematic arrangements to aid fugitives from injustice had become more common; and even among those who talked loudest against Abolitionists, there was an increasing tendency to ask no questions when they saw a colored man in a hurry to step Northward. But though Friend Hopper's zeal and energy were less needed in slave cases in his later years, he was always ready and active when called upon. Not many months before his decease, he left his bed at midnight to place a poor fugitive in safety; and had the ship involved imprisonment during the remainder of his natural life, the brave old man would not have hesitated for a moment.

In all the mobs where freedom of speech on the subject of Slavery has been assailed in New York, he always met the rioters with calm, steady courage; and when he walked alone in the midst of them, no one ventured to insult the dignified old man, whose bearing told plainly enough that he never knew the sensation of fear. His last appearance on any such occasion was on the platform of the Society Library, 1850, when he made so far forgot their own principles as to make a noisy and brutal onset upon men who met to declare to the world that Slavery is oppression, and ought not to be tolerated or excused by any honest freeman.

Friend Hopper was deeply grieved by the unjust and inhuman custom of excluding colored people from cars and omnibuses. Once, when a woman of modest deportment, and neatly dressed, was turned out into the rain, for no other fault than having a brown complexion, he indignantly jumped out of the cars and walked home in the rain himself, though wet with chilly rain, and weary with the labors of the day. Sometimes colored men were ordered to stand on the platform outside the cars; and whenever he heard such orders given, he walked out and stood with them. His earnest representations to the managers did, at one time, effect a temporary change; but things soon relapsed into their former state. If New York contained ten men like Friend Hopper, this unchristian custom would soon be abolished forever.

A vase with a bird standing beside it was given to one of his children by a ransomed slave, forty years ago, and was always preserved in the family. During his last illness, he asked to have it placed on the mantel-piece before him, and seemed to find pleasure in being thus reminded of one of the many victims he had rescued from oppression.

It was the subject of Slavery that produced separation between him and the Society of Friends, to whom he was closely bound by early religious associations and many years of fellowship. They would not consent to make any exertions in favor of the slave themselves, and at the same time they required members, whose consciences were more alive to the subject, not to co-operate with individuals of other sects. They were satisfied with referring to testimonies against Slavery recorded by early fathers of the sect; but Friend Hopper's sincere and earnest nature required that professed principles should be manifested in action. Under such circumstances, what could he do? If he followed the footsteps of Jesus, there was no other way but to leave the dead to bury their dead.

His enlarged sympathies had always embraced the criminal and the imprisoned, as well as the oppressed; but the last eight years of his life were peculiarly devoted to the Prison Association. In this department of benevolence, he manifested the same zealous kindness and untiring diligence that he had so long exerted for the colored people. The last time he rode out during his illness, he called at the Anti-Slavery Office, and the Office of the Prison Association. The objects for which they labor formed the earliest and the latest links in his long life of benevolence and usefulness, and to them he bids his last farewell.

L. MARIA CHILD.

The labors of Isaac T. Hopper, while Agent for the Prison Association of this City, have been governed by the same spirit and wisdom which have distinguished the efforts of his whole life in behalf of the Slave. We have received from that Association the following minute of the proceedings of its Executive Committee, on receiving the intelligence of his death:—  
At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, held on Monday, May 10, 1852, at their rooms, 15 Centre-street, the following resolutions were adopted:—  
The Executive Committee of the New York Prison Association, bowing with profound reverence to

the dispensation which has separated from them, and from his labors, their esteemed friend and coadjutor, Isaac T. Hopper, do unanimously

Resolved, 1st. That the combination of virtues which distinguished and adorned the character of our lamented friend, eminently qualified him for the accomplishment of those benevolent and philanthropic objects to which he unremittedly devoted a life far more extended than ordinarily falls to man's inheritance.

2d. That in our intimate associations with him for many years, he has uniformly displayed a character remarkable for his disinterestedness, energy, fearlessness and Christian principle, in every good word and work.

3d. That we tender to the family and friends of the deceased, our sincere condolences and sympathy in their bereavement; but whilst sensible that words, however truly uttered, cannot compensate for the loss of such a husband, father, and guide, we do find both for them, consolation in the belief that his peaceful end was but the prelude to the bliss heaven.

4th. That, in the death of Isaac T. Hopper, the community is called to part with a citizen of transcendent worth and excellence; the prisoner, with an unwearied and well tried friend; the poor and the homeless, with a father and a protector; the Church of Christ, with a brother whose works ever bore unfading testimony to his faith; and the world at large, with a philanthropist of the purest and most uncompromising integrity, whose good deeds were circumscribed by no sect, party, condition or clime.

5th. That this committee will attend the funeral of the deceased in a body; and that a copy of these resolutions be presented to his family, and published in the city papers.

B. N. HAYES, Chm. Ex. Com.

GEO. E. BAKER, Secy. pro tem.

The following proceedings of this Association, on the occasion of his resigning his office in that body, show the value of his services, and the opinion of entertained of him by its members:—

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association, held at their office, Friday evening, Feb. 13th, 1852:—

The Committee to whom was referred the resignation of Isaac T. Hopper, Agent, reported through their chairman, Judge Edmunds, the following:—

'The Association has received with undiminished sorrow, the resignation of Isaac T. Hopper, as their agent for the relief of discharged convicts.

'He was actively engaged in the organization of the Society, and has ever since been its most active member.

'His kindness of heart, and his active zeal in behalf of the fallen and erring whom he has so often befriended, have given to this Society a lofty character for goodness, which, being a reflection of his own, will endure with the remembrance of him.

'His forbearance and patience, combined with his great energy of mind, have given to its action an impetus and a direction, which, it is to be earnestly hoped, will continue long after it shall have ceased to enjoy his participation in its active labors.

'His gentleness and propriety of deportment towards us, his associates, have given him a hold upon our affections which adds poignancy to our grief at parting with him.

'And while we mourn his loss to us, our recollections of the cause of it awaken within us the belief that the good he has done will smooth his departure from among us, and give strength to the cheering hope that the recollection of a life well spent may add even to the happiness that is in store for him hereafter.'

On motion, the report was accepted.

Moved and seconded, That the Report be adopted, and that a copy thereof be presented to Mr. Hopper, by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Hayes, J. Russell and Edmunds.

Yeas and nays being called, it was adopted unanimously.

(Extracts from the Minutes.)

THOS. T. BENNETT, Clerk.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PRISON ASSOCIATION.

Dear Friends:—I received through your committee, accompanied by Dr. Russ, your resolutions of the 13th of February, 1852, commendatory of my course while agent for Discharged Convicts. My bodily indisposition has prevented an earlier acknowledgment.

The kind, friendly and affectionate manner in which you have been pleased to express your views on this occasion, excited emotions which I found it difficult to repress. The approbation of those with whom I have long labored in a deeply interesting and arduous concern, I value next to the testimony of a good conscience. Multiplied years and debility of body admonish me to retire from active life as much as may be, but my interest in the work has not abated. Much has been done, and much remains to be done.

In taking a retrospect of my intercourse with you, I am rejoiced to see that the great principles of humanity, and Christian benevolence, have risen above and over-rended sectarian prejudice, that base and unchristian; and while each has been allowed to enjoy his own religious opinions, we have labored harmoniously together for the promotion of the great object of our Association.

May He who clothes the lilies, feeds the ravens, and provides for the sparrows, and without whose Providential regard, all our endeavors must be in vain, bless your labors, and stimulate and encourage you to persevere, so that having, through His aid, fulfilled all your relative and social duties, you may in the end receive the welcome 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.'

That this may be our happy experience, is the fervent desire of your sincere and affectionate friend,

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

New York, 4th mo. 15, 1852.

## ESCAPE OF A SLAVE.

The slaveholders in New York are making a great waiting over the escape of a piece of Southern property through the connivance of Gov. Hunt. It took place thus: In 1849, Nicholas Dudley, the 'property' of Dr. Allen Thomas, of Maryland, ran to New York. In 1850 he was arrested on a charge of larceny. His counsel advised him to plead guilty, and he was saved from his master by going to the State Prison for two years. It had not then been discovered, as it has since been in the case of Sims, that State Law must succumb to the Fugitive Slave Law. As the sentence of Dudley approached its termination, the master took measures to secure his property. He wrote to Gov. Hunt, on the 20th of April, to learn whether Dudley had been pardoned, and was answered that he had not been. Proof under the Fugitive Slave Law was then got up, and the master's son came on from Maryland with a warrant, secured the service of the requisite U. S. Marshal, who were full of slavery, to take the man as soon as the State gave him up. They were on hand at Sing Sing two days previous to the expiration of the sentence, and after looking through the prison for their man, had the satisfaction of learning that Gov. Hunt had pardoned him that morning, and he was safe on his way to Canada!

The hanging of the hounds is awful! Allen Thomas, Jr., the proprietor of the 'New York' of the property, with a sublime severity of indignation, says:—

'By the act of the Governor of New York, committed with a full knowledge of the position of matters and its results, the owner of the slave Dudley, alias Snowden, has been deprived of his property, and a convicted felon once more loosened, to prey upon the property of the citizens of the North. Whatever remedies in the premise the claimant has, civil or otherwise, against any of the parties to this wrong, will be promptly and fearlessly exerted.'

That's it, Mr. Kidnapper, let us see your remedies.—Commonwealth.

The Louisiana Legislature has passed a law prohibiting the emancipation of slaves in that State, except on condition of their being sent out of the United States. A bill recently reported in the Maryland Legislature, has a similar provision. A very stringent bill, against free negroes, has been reported in the Virginia Legislature, the enforcement of which will drive them from the State.

Horace Preston, who was recently captured and taken to Baltimore, has been purchased, and is probably now at home.

## The Liberator.

## No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, MAY 21, 1852.

## N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The nineteenth NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, at the MELODEON, during the anniversary week, commencing on TUESDAY, May 25, and continuing in session three days.

Once more let New England utter a clear, strong, and stern condemnation of the infamous system of human chattelism, robbery and murder, which degrades and dishonors our country; of that system which is grinding its millions of victims to the earth, sealing up the lips of hundreds of thousands in terror, bribing or overawing the Press and Pulpit of the land, and which finds its chief support in the Union of these States. Let all who love truth, honor, freedom and righteousness, gather once more on this occasion, hallowed by so many memories, and by word and deed give a new impulse to the Movement which shall accomplish the deliverance of the Slave.

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,  
FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

EDMUND QUINCY, Secy.

## EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the city of Rochester, on Tuesday, May 11th, in Corinthian Hall. At 10 1/2 o'clock, the Society was called to order by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, its President. He announced the character and object of the meeting, and said that, in accordance with the custom of the Society, opportunity would now be given for silent or vocal prayer.

Prayer was offered by SAMUEL MAY, Jr. Selections from Scripture, mainly such as were prophetic of the doom of oppressive nations, and of people who have revolted from the Law of God, were then read by the President.

On motion of O. JOHNSON, of Philadelphia, it was Voted, That a Committee be now nominated by the Chair to report the necessary organization of the Annual Meeting.

The following were nominated accordingly, and were chosen: Oliver Johnson, of Pennsylvania; Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts; Joseph Carpenter, of New York; Jas. W. Walker, of Ohio; Isaac Post and Pliny Sexton, of New York.

This Committee subsequently reported that Committees on Business and on Finance be appointed, and four Secretaries pro tempore be chosen; and they nominated for these several offices the following persons:—

Business Committee—Wendell Phillips, of Boston; Samuel J. May, of Syracuse; Oliver Johnson, of Philadelphia; Francis Jackson, of Boston; Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa.; Amy Post, of Rochester; Lydia Mott, of Albany; Joseph Barker, of Millwood, Knox Co., Ohio; Chas. L. Remond, of Mass.; Edmund Jackson, of Boston; Mary Hall, of Rochester; Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H.; Charles F. Hovey, of Boston; Henry C. Wright, of Philadelphia; Abigail Bush, of Rochester.

Financial Committee—James W. Walker, of Ohio; Giles B. Stebbins, of Rochester; Abby Kelly Foster, of Mass.; Sallie Holley, of Rochester; Charles S. S. Griffin, of Ohio.

Secretaries pro tem.—Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Mass.; Marius R. Robinson, of Salem, Ohio; Wm. C. Nell, of Rochester; Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, Mass.

The Report was accepted, and the persons named therein were accordingly elected.

A cordial invitation was given by the President to all persons, whether friends or opponents of the Society, to participate in the discussions of the annual meeting.

The President then alluded to the recent death of Isaac T. Hopper, of New York, one of the most active of philanthropists, and one of the earliest and steadiest friends and officers of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He offered the following resolutions, which he sustained in some very appropriate remarks:—

1. Resolved, That it is with emotion too profound for utterance that this Society receives the intelligence of the decease of the venerable Isaac T. Hopper, on Friday evening last, in the City of New York—the friend of the friendless, the boundless in his compassion, the most intrepid of philanthropists, who never feared the face of man, nor omitted to bear a faithful testimony against injustice and oppression; the early, steadfast, heroic advocate and protector of the hunted fugitive slave, to whose sleepless vigilance and timely aid, multitudes have been indebted for their deliverance from the Southern house of bondage; in whom were equally blended the gentleness of the lamb with the strength of the lion, the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, and who, when he saw him, then it blessed him; when he saw him, it gave witness to him; because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy; he put on righteousness, and it clothed him; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem; he was eyes to the blind, and feet was he to the lame. The cause which he knew not, he searched out; and he broke the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.

2. Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded, in an official form, to the estimable partner of his life and the children of his love, accompanied by an assurance of our deepest sympathy in view of their great bereavement.

OLIVER JOHNSON, of Philadelphia, spoke earnestly in support of the resolutions, reading Mr. Hopper's letter to the New York Tribune on Mr. Hopper's death.

Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON, of Palmyra, said that, though not a member of the Society, he desired to express (which he did eloquently) his respect for the character of Isaac T. Hopper, and his satisfaction that this Society had honored the memory of a good and true man, and in doing honored itself.

OLIVER JOHNSON narrated several highly interesting incidents in the life of Isaac T. Hopper, connected especially with the delivery of fugitive slaves.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke in support of the resolutions. The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

After some discussion, in which O. Johnson, S. S. Foster, S. May, Jr., W. Phillips, J. Hawkins and P. Pillsbury participated, the following were assigned as stated hours of meeting: 10 A. M., 2 1/2 and 7 1/2 P. M.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Report, showing the total amount of receipts into the treasury of the Society, for the past year, to be \$8,488 83; an expenditure of \$7,634 54; and a balance in the treasury of \$854 29. The Report had been audited and declared correct

by Oliver Johnson; and the Society accepted the Report.

Adjourned.  
TUESDAY AFTERNOON.—Met in Corinthian Hall, at 2 1/2 o'clock. Francis Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, in the Chair.

The assembly joined in singing a hymn:  
'The memory of the faithful dead  
Be on their children's hearts this day.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, in a clear and cogent speech, explained some of the leading principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and concluded by reading the following resolution, reported by the Business Committee:—

3. Resolved, That it is not the business of the American A. S. Society either to build up or to destroy any sect or party as such, or to patronize or to proselyte any man or class of men for their abstract views of theology or political economy, or on matters foreign from the Anti-Slavery question; but simply to wage an unceasing war against Slavery; to denounce slaveholding, under all circumstances, as a sin which should immediately cease, and to expose the blindness and wickedness of all who support this system of iniquity in our land; and that we gladly welcome all (however they may differ in other respects) who will aid faithfully in our great work, rejoicing to hear the true work spoken, that the Slave is a Man, whether uttered from the lips of Jew or Samaritan.

The discussion of the resolution was continued by George W. Clark, of Rochester; Mr. Pickard; P. Pillsbury; S. S. Foster, of Worcester, Mass.; Jos. Barker; Charles L. Remond, of Mass.; S. J. May, of Syracuse; when, on motion, the Society adjourned to 7 1/2 o'clock.

TUESDAY EVENING.—The Society met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair. The hymn, by Rev. J. Pierpont, was sung, beginning, 'Hear'st Thou, O God, those chains  
Clanking on Freedom's plains, &c.'

The President read to the Society a letter from GERRIT SMITH, Esq., in reply to an invitation to attend this meeting.

After the reading, it was Voted, on motion of Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, that the letter of Mr. Smith be published with the proceedings of this meeting. It is as follows:—

PETERBORO', May 6, 1852.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:—  
MY DEAR SIR:—You tell me in your letter, received last evening, that you will excuse me from answering it. But I will not consent to be excused from answering so generous and beautiful a letter. I will not consent to let a single hour pass, without assuring you of my continued and increasing esteem and love for you.

The members of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the members of the Liberty party do not all of them understand each other. They are all, to some extent, jealous of each other, and occasionally say hard things of each other. There was some proof of this in the meeting held in Syracuse in January, 1850, and again in the meeting held in Rochester in March last. It is because of this mutual misapprehension, that I was fearful of unpleasant occurrences in the meeting in Syracuse a year ago. I had some fears that these abolitionists of different names might wound each other, and wound the common cause, by ill-natured and unjust remarks; but my fears were not realized. The excellent meeting was characterized by good sense and a tolerant spirit, which will, I trust, be characteristic of the approaching meeting in Rochester.

I ascribe an equal degree of integrity to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the little handful that is left in the Liberty Party. I recognize both points of difference between them, and these are points, which make nothing against the honesty of either party. The American Anti-Slavery Society man will not vote. The Liberty Party man will. It is true, the Liberty Party man will vote, whether he shall believe the Constitution to be anti-slavery or for slavery; for he claims that the right to vote is derived from a higher source than the Constitution. But it is not true that he would, in any event, swear to support the Constitution. Whenever he shall be convinced that this instrument does, under a legal interpretation of it, require the upholding of slavery he will then, as steadily as the American Anti-Slavery Society man, refuse to swear to support it.

I do not understand that the American Anti-Slavery Society is opposed to civil government, and it appears from your letter before me, that I have misapprehended your individual position on that subject. You will set me right, and I shall thank you for doing so.

The grand point of agreement between the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty Party, and which, in my esteem, makes them substantially one, is their holding in common that the law for slavery, whether found in the Constitution or not, is but a nominal law, is not and cannot be a real and obligatory law, and is every where and always to be trampled under foot. Their grand point of agreement, in other words, is, that slavery is an outlaw, a diabolical, mean, shameless outlaw, and that not only is every man at liberty to treat it as such, but is bound to treat it as such.

The American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty Party are agreed that the rules and arrangements of slavery are as incapable as the rules and arrangements of any other form of piracy to create obligations to bind the conscience. Would that the Free Soil party and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society might no longer delay to come into this agreement with us! The greatest obstacle to the union of all American abolitionists would then be removed, and with that union would be fresh hope for a speedy and bloodless termination of American slavery.

I cannot go to Rochester, much as I should love to take you and a hundred other friends there by the hand, and much as I should love to hear Wendell Phillips, whom I am glad to learn by your letter to be there. I have seen something in the newspapers to interest me in Joseph Barker. What you say of him increases my desire to know him.

I am much pressed, at this time, with my office and other labors. I am preparing to leave home, a week from next Monday, for the sea-shore, with my wife, whose health is uncommonly feeble this spring.

I suppose there will be a call in the meeting for contributions to the funds of your Society. Please consider the enclosed draft for twenty-five dollars as my response to such call.

Your friend and brother,  
GERRIT SMITH.

The following resolutions were reported by the Business Committee:—

4. Resolved, That American Slavery tends to strengthen the hands of foreign despots, and to retard the progress and defer the triumph of democracy in all the nations of Europe.

5. Resolved, That the cause of the American slave, and the cause of the oppressed and plundered people of Europe, are one; and that, in laboring for the abolition of American slavery, we are contributing to the emancipation of man in every part of the globe.

JOSEPH BARKER, lately of England, where he labored most abundantly and indefatigably in behalf of the political, social, and religious rights of the people, and who has now established himself in Ohio, was introduced by the President to the audience. He sustained the above resolutions in a speech of the clearest good sense and soundest argument; and evinced his determination to be a man, a free man, in the United States, as he was in Great

Britain. His speech was heard with deep interest and frequent applause.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, followed, and occupied the remainder of the evening session in a speech of great power and eloquence. He sought to awaken and confirm in his hearers that manly adherence to Justice, and that unyielding loyalty to Right, which shall compel Legislatures and Governments to respect and obey their demands.

Adjourned.  
WEDNESDAY.

The forenoon was occupied in an informal discussion amongst the members of the Society and others. But the meeting not being a session of the Society, no record is here made.

AFTERNOON.—The Society met at Corinthian Hall, and was called to order at 3 o'clock by the President.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution:—

Resolved, That slavery is a wrong, whose existence for one hour, no circumstance, law, constitution, book or being in the universe is competent to make right; and that it is our duty to feel, speak and act towards whatever sanctions it precisely as we feel, speak and act toward slavery itself.

It was discussed by H. C. Wright, Rev. Mr. Pickard and Joseph Barker.

The following resolutions were also reported:—

Resolved. In the language of John Quincy Adams, 'it cannot be denied that the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions, to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave-trade. The second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement most positively prohibited by the laws of God from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principle of popular representation, of a representation of slaves, for articles of merchandise under the name of persons'; therefore,

Resolved, (also in the language of Mr. Adams,) That 'to call a Government, thus constituted, a Democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind—that it is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery—that its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people in the American Congress, and thereby to make the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national Government.'

Resolved, That the first duty of every friend of the slave is to come out from such a compact, and refuse every act and every office which binds him to fidelity to such a Constitution, or to take an oath in its support.

WENDELL PHILLIPS made a strong argument in support of the resolutions, frequently answering questions put to him by individuals in the audience. It was further discussed by SAMUEL PORTER, of Rochester, H. C. WRIGHT and FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

At 6 o'clock, Mr. Douglass gave way, with a view to a motion for adjournment.

The Chair, in accordance with a vote to that effect, nominated the following persons a Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the year ensuing, and they were chosen, viz:—

Oliver Johnson, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Carpenter, of New York; Samuel May, Jr., of Massachusetts; Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; H. W. Foster, of Rhode Island; Pliny Sexton, of New York; James W. Walker, of Ohio.

Notice was given that an officer was in the city, charged with arresting a person as a fugitive slave. The description of the slave was given. Mr. May, of Syracuse, reminded the audience of Daniel Webster's threat that a fugitive slave should be taken out of Syracuse in the very midst of an anti-slavery Convention. Mr. Webster attempted it at Syracuse, as is well known, and failed; and having been disappointed there, he is, perhaps, seeking to try his luck at Rochester. It was moved that a Vigilance Committee be at once organized; but it was replied that one already existed in the city. A deep feeling was manifested, in the midst of which, the Society adjourned to the evening.

EVENING.—The Society re-assembled in Corinthian Hall, and were called to order, at 8 o'clock, by the President.

The several resolutions before the Society were read; and the meeting was successively addressed by Charles L. Remond, Wendell Phillips, and Wm. L. Garrison.

Mr. REMOND was very strong in his denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law, as a law to be trampled under foot at all hazards, and at all times.

Mr. PHILLIPS showed how far greater our enterprise is when prosecuted upon moral grounds than when based upon or mixed up with political schemes and parties. We need have no fear. If the public sentiment is right, there will always be lawyers enough, and courts enough, and ministers enough, to express and enforce that sentiment. Let not the people suffer themselves to be made the bridge



... hostility to the object of the notice, of his ob-  
dience to the Fugitive Slave Law, and of his being  
one of its supporters, evinced itself in the remarks  
that in read a notice for a meeting to advise a tug-  
two slave to leave, lest he might be pursued, was  
contravening the law.

G. T. D.

Our rule in India is better than the predominance of barbarians over barbarians, or fanatics over fanatics, and under our rule, our government is always

the difficulties which ensue to the slaveholder. For instance, there is a man in Alabama, who owns some fifty slaves. He would be glad to set them free, but they are not prepared for this blessing. Beside, they are his whole dependance for a living. Now what can he do, but hold them in slavery, and treat them

so holy in England for free speech and a free press, will be present at the approaching session of the *New England Anti-Slavery Convention*.—*N.*

not, but that he remained until a person who was sent to watch him came to his house. He came out and asked the man whether he wanted him. He said, 'No.' He then went into the house, and escaped through the back way. In two hours after, some police came to arrest him, but the bird had flown. So the case stands.

Office hours from 2 to 4 P. M.  
1 y may 7 S. ROGERS, M. D.

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J. B. YERRINTON & SON,  
BOOK, NEWSPAPER AND JOB PRINTERS  
LIBERATOR OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

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For the Liberator.

**CHOICE OF A THEME.**

In reply to a newspaper, which published an effusion accompanied with a request that the writer would choose some other theme.

I do not choose my theme—the thoughts which I write.

Unbidden come, to bless 'the spirit's sky-light.'

I cannot choose but write the thoughts which move me.

Though for my writings few, perhaps, will love me.

The words I choose, the waiting thoughts to shape.

In the fond hope some slumbering soul to waken.

Should I succeed, my course prove worth pursuing.

The world is welcome to the good I'm doing.

H. N. S.

For the Liberator.

**HINTS TO THE WISE.**

BY A FRIEND.

Why spend your time in novel reading?

While crushed humanity lies bleeding?

Why spend your time in sportive dancing?

While freedom's foes are still advancing?

Why spend your time for pleasure riding?

While Slavery o'er the land is skidding?

Up! friends of man—girl for the struggle!

Your life of man is worth the struggle!

With steadfast eye watch every motion—

Your sacred cause claims all devotion!

Firm be your faith—to you 'tis given

To wear the panoply of Heaven!

Still, at each moment be ye careful—

Be ever watchful, ever prayerful!

**LITTLE BESSIE.**

AND THE WAY SHE FELT ASLEEP.

Just before the lamp was lighted,

Just before the children came,

While the room was very quiet,

I heard some one call my name;

All at once the window opened—

In the field were lambs and sheep,

Some from out a brook were drinking,

Some were lying fast asleep!

But I could not see the Savior,

Though I strained my eyes to see;

And I wonder'd if he saw me:

If he'd speak to me as he!

In a moment I was looking

On a world so bright and fair,

Which was full of little children:

And they seem'd so happy there.

They were singing, O how sweetly!

Sweeter songs I never heard;

They were singing sweeter, mother,

Than can sing our yellow bird;

And while I my breath was holding,

One, so bright, upon me smiled,

And I knew it must be Jesus,

When he said, 'Come here, my child.'

Hug me closer, closer, mother,

Put your arms around me tight,

I am cold and tired, mother,

And I feel so strange to-night!

Something hurts me here, dear mother,

Like a stone upon my breast;

O, I wonder, wonder, mother,

Why it is I cannot rest.

The worst government upon earth is that of fear:

The best, that of love and affection.

By the law of our nature, must be mutual

Sentiments. Bonaparte was the idol of the soldier,

because the soldier was his idol; they loved him

because they supposed he loved them. There is

nothing that gallant men will not do or suffer for

a commander whom they love. Difficulties, and dangers,

and death, have no terrors for such a leader.

Great battles, where the pride of character dwells,

those soldiers have always fought most desperately,

whose devotion to their commander was the greatest.

It has always been considered as an extensive

element in the character of such successful com-

manders, that they possess the confidence and affec-

tion of the men under their command; but what

confidence or regard can be regarded as the result

of government of the law? But, more than this, the

punishment destroys the sailor's own self-respect.

What a honor, pride, or satisfaction to do with a

man who may be, at the caprice of another, sub-

jected to infamous punishment, worse, in some cases,

a thousand times than death? Can nobleness of

sentiment or regard be regarded as the result of

government of the law? Can he long continue to

love his country, whose laws degrade him to the

level of the brute? This infamous torture now

only remains as a leaf on the page of Anglo-Saxon

history. The whipping-post, where the worst vaga-

bands used to expiate their offences, is now dis-

carded from society. The worst offences in our

State prisons are no longer punished by the lash.

Why all this? These are punishments now

condemned as shameful relics of a barbarous age?

It is because the light of another day has dawned.

It is because the precepts of the Gospel, of Christi-

anity, have ameliorated our laws. It is because so-

ciality has made the discovery that it is to live

in all, to ought not to be directed of all qualities,

and made to die infamous by the mutilations of his

body. What is the answer given by all those who

seek to restore this relic of barbarism to the navy?

Why, they tell us, we only intend to apply this sys-

tem of punishment to seamen. We intend only to

flag sailors. That is quite true. It is only sailors

who are to be treated like brutes. No man who

hears me, would permit his dog to be thus treated.

There is no spot on the habitable globe, known to

me, where a man would be permitted to seize up a

dog and beat him until he cut the flesh from his ribs,

and the blood should be made to run down from

his back to his heels. But it is only the sailor

for whom this punishment is reserved. When, O

Sensors, is the American sailor as he is, to be treated

worse than a dog? He has been my companion

for more than a quarter of a century, through calms

and storms, privations, sufferings and hunger, in

peace and in war. I have lived with him, side by

side, by sea and land. I have seen him on the western

ocean, when there was no enemy to be feared, and

I have seen him on the coast of Africa, surrounded

by pestilential disease. I have seen him among the

West India Islands, in close of pirates, with his

perched tongue hanging almost out of his mouth.

I have camped with him on the California mountains—

I have seen the rays of the morning play on his

carbine and boarding-pike. I have seen him

march one hundred and fifty miles through the en-

emy's country, on mountains and through rivers. I

have seen him with no shoes on but those of canvas,

made by his own hands, and with no provisions but

what he took from the enemy. I have seen him go

into the Rio San Gabriel, and drag his guns after

him, in the face of a galling fire from a desperate

foe; and finally, I have seen him, when the smoke

ground, when the ice has formed on his head. His

heart has best close to mine. I ought to know

him. I do know him, and this day before the as-

sembled Senate of the republic, I stand up to speak

in his behalf.

**GEMS FROM FESTUS.**

GOOD BOOKS.

Worthy books

Are not companions—they are solitudes;

We lose ourselves in them, and all our cares.

**MEN OF GENIUS.**

Men whom we built our love round like an arch

Of triumph, as they pass us on their way

To glory and to immortality.

**SEEING THE STARS.**

We never see the stars,

Till we can see night but them. So with truth.

**THE YOUNG POET.**

He wrote amid the ruins of his heart;

He wrote his throne and theme; like some lone

king.

Who tells the story of the land he lost,

And how he lost it.

**MOUNTAIN PROSPECT.**

It is fine

To stand upon some lofty mountain-thought,

And feel the spirit stretch into the view.

The joy of what might be, and will and power

For good would work together.

**OLD HEARTS AND YOUNG.**

The heart of age is like an emptied wine-cup.

O for the young heart, like a fountain playing,

Flinging its bright fresh feelings to the skies

It loves and tries to reach—strives, loves in vain.

**SHUNTING IN ACTION.**

There is a fire-fly in the Southern clime,

Which shinneth only when upon the wing;

So it with the mind; when once we rest

We darken.

**A GOOD RULE.**

'Tis well to work with a cheerful heart

Wherever our fortunes call,

With a friendly glance and an open hand,

And a gentle word for all.

Since life is a thorny and a difficult path,

Where toil is the portion of man,

We'll should endeavor, while passing along,

To make it as smooth as we can.

## Reformatory.

**SPEECH OF COMMODORE STOCKTON,**  
AGAINST FLOGGING IN THE U. S. NAVY.

Delivered in the Senate Jan. 7, 1852.

There is as much difference between American sailors on their whaling and coasting service, and sailors of other nations, as there is between the raw European emigrant and the sturdy son of one of our frontier pioneers. The emigrant will almost starve, while the pioneer is building his log house, enclosing his cornfield, and making himself an independent and useful man. I am of opinion that the nation whose service is supplied with the best common sailors, will excel in naval warfare, as well as in all other pursuits. I am further of opinion, that, in sensibility, education, courage, and industry, our sailors in the whaling and coasting service, excel those of all other nations. I am, furthermore, of opinion that the superiority of the American sailors has decided the battle in our favor in many a bloody conflict, when, without that superiority it might have been otherwise. I desire to secure and preserve that superiority; and for the promotion of that end, and for humanity's sake, I am utterly and irreconcilably opposed to the use of the lash in the navy, or anywhere else. The longest and most arduous voyages are made in the merchant service, without the use of the lash. In the polar seas, among the icebergs of the Arctic and Antarctic oceans, the English, the New Englander pursues his gigantic game, and harls his harpoon; and after a three years' voyage, returns with the oily spoils of his adventurous navigation; but he owes none of his success, his patient endurance, his exemplary discipline, and indefatigable industry, to the guardian ministrations of the lash. To say that such hardships cheerfully and contentedly, cannot navigate their own national ships without the infliction of the infamous lash, is a libel. Is their nature changed the moment they step on the deck of a national vessel? Are they less men—less Americans—as soon as the custody of the American flag or the national honor is committed to their keeping? No! It is a libel. I do not mean to use the word in an offensive sense; it is one of those inconsiderate, thoughtless opinions which mankind seem to think they have a perfect right to express in regard to sailors. It is not long since I had a conversation on this subject with a gentleman who had for several years commanded line ships in the merchant service, but who was now an honorable and active member of business in one of our large cities, and to whose integrity, generosity, and humanity I would entrust anybody but a sailor; after he had heard my views, he instantly replied: 'Why, you seem to treat them like human beings.' The theory that the navy cannot be governed, and that our national ships cannot be navigated without the use of the lash seems to be founded on the false idea that sailors are not men—not American citizens—have not the common feelings, sympathies, and honorable impulses of our Anglo-American race. I do not wonder, when I look back on the past history of the sailor, at the prevalence of this idea. His life has been a life of national—I will not say systematic degradation, but of national degradation. The oldest, bravest, and best—have been accustomed from their boyhood, to see the sailor lashed about the ship's deck like a brute. He, who, by the law of the service in which he is engaged, is treated, or liable to be treated like a brute, soon comes to be thought of, as at least but little better than a brute. Who, in social life, respects a man whose back has been scored at a whipping-post? Into what depth of contempt does such punishment sink its victim? And here is one of the worst evils of the system; it destroys those feelings of respect and kindness which officers should entertain for the sailors under their command. But this is only one of the worst evils of the system. It destroys the feelings of respect and kindness which officers should entertain for the sailors under their command. But this is only one of the worst evils of the system. It destroys the feelings of respect and kindness which officers should entertain for the sailors under their command.

Now we fear this cruel treatment of sailors is much more than generally supposed; and that the above are by no means isolated cases. It should not be so. It is certainly not to the advantage of the service that it should be, and public opinion should visit with universal execration the monsters who are guilty of such unpardonable abuse. It is not enough that they are legally punished, (although that does not always happen,) but they should be at once deprived of their commands, and exiled from all humane and decent society. Our sailors—American sailors, at least—are generally men of honest, generous, and noble heart—more so, as a class, than perhaps any other—and it is a burning shame upon the humanity and civilization of this nation and of this century that they should be subjected to such barbarous and cruel treatment. Discriminating kindness is always appreciated by them, and is certainly the most profitable treatment for the owners. Let ship-owners, then, inquire into the dispositions of their officers in this respect, and see to it that these abuses exist no longer. Public opinion should demand a reform in this matter—and demand it with such a force and unanimity that its voice shall be respected.

**THE BLOOMER COSTUME.**

We see by Amelia Bloomer's neat little paper, the *Lily*, that her new costume has not yet lost its advocate, though the thing itself has not been seen lately in this region, save in a bewitching dance of the Countess of Landfield's corps de ballet. In the *Lily*, a writer, whom we suppose to be Elizabeth G. Stanton, wife of Hon. Henry B. Stanton, supports the new costume as follows:—

**THE NEW DRESS.** Why do not the women put it on? All the reasons given can be summed up under two heads.

1st. It is not the fashion!! To hear people talk of the fashions, one would think they were as fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians—that they were all-powerful, and could not be broken, with particular reference to the comfort and beauty of the race; when the fact is, they are ever varying—the device, generally, of an individual, to conceal some special deformity, or set off some peculiar charm. There is great tyranny in this idea of an universal dress. Only look at the difference in the face, form, and manners of those around you, and is it not fair to infer that the dress should vary with the person? Why should a short woman, with a short, plump arm, destroy the proportions of my figure by wearing a great flowing sleeve, and a bag of an undersleeve, because some tall thin woman, with an endless arm, must resort to some such expedient, to break up the monotony of its length? Why should I cover my ears with hair, because the Duchess of R. wears a turban? Why should I wear a great gown, because my Lady V. wears one to conceal a great wen, growing in the centre of her back? Why should I trail my dress upon the ground because royal robes, having no true dignity or nobility in themselves, impose upon the ignorant populace by the show of it, with their laces, jewels, and train of rich brocade? Suppose we should hear of some Chinese mother, who, being convinced of the cruelty and folly of suppressing her daughter's feet, had suffered them to grow, and left them to use their powers of locomotion naturally and freely. The Celestial Empire, in spite of ridicule and odium, would have been the object of our admiration. Why should we object to a woman who makes herself ridiculous by such a course? Why not do as others do? If all the women would let their feet grow, why then, of course, it would be a great blessing to them, but it is absurd for one to stand up alone to change a long established fashion. It seems to me you wear the crown of martyrdom for a cause which is not your own. I do not mean to say, however, that the women who stand up alone, are very well with the small feet. A large foot is a masculine appendage, far do not the men—suppose the Chinese mother should say, 'This fashion, so cruel, wicked and unnatural, that so cramps the energies of woman, and tramples all her movements, has already existed long enough. Shall my countrywomen always suffer this cruel, but necessary evil, until they are worn out, and say this shall not be? Evil can never be remedied by a supine endurance of them. Shall I, who see the truth, neither proclaim it nor live it, because the mass are not ready to go with me? No! I am willing to encounter a life-time of ridicule and rebuke, if the blessing of free powers of locomotion can be gained thereby. For those who come after me, for my children, who are dearer to me than my own ease and comfort—yes, than life itself! 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